

INTER-OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE

BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS

TO Mr. Everette L. Perry  
FROM G. Shubert Frye  
RE: Manuscript by Viola Garfield

DATE July 9, 1963

Thank you for sharing the Viola Garfield manuscript. I am not clear as to its purpose. It appears to be a most interesting and valuable interpretation of the historical background of the culture of the two groups of Indians in Southeastern Alaska. An important part of this interpretation has to do with the native religious beliefs and practices. All of these, of course, have very important implications with regard to the mission of the Christian church. A very real lack in the study seems to be any bridge between the cultural background of the people and the demands and opportunities involved in the Christian mission and the Christian faith and life of the people who have become involved. Indeed, there is nothing at all said about the development of the Christian faith and the Christian church within the groups. It seems to me that the study is more or less valuable in its failure to relate the material covered to the demands placed upon the church to accomplish its mission. At this point, I am puzzled by the attached statistical summary church data sheet regarding the Indian churches in Alaska Presbytery. These statistical data are given no interpretation and are related in no way to the text of the study report. Can it be that this manuscript forms part I, and that there should follow a completely different section having to do with the history of these Christian congregations, the various relationships which they sustain to the total life, and culture of the people, and the problems and opportunities which they may face in the future?

I have come to this manuscript without any earlier background information, and there may be factors involved with which I am not familiar.

Cordially,

*G. Shubert Frye*  
G. Shubert Frye

GSF: el

## INDIANS OF SOUTHEASTERN ALASKA

By

Viola E. Garfield

The two groups of Indians met by explorers and fur traders in southeastern Alaska in the latter part of the eighteenth century, were the Tlingit and the Haida. The Tlingit occupied the whole of the Alexander Archipelago, including the northern half of Prince of Wales Island. They also occupied the coastal mainland from Yakutat Bay south to the entrance to Portland Canal. The ancient home of the Haida was the Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia. Perhaps more than a century before explorers arrived, some of the Haida had moved north across Dixon's Entrance and captured former Tlingit territory on the southern half of Prince of Wales Island. There they established villages, the principal ones of which were Howkan, Sukkwan, Klinquan and, the most northerly, Kasaan.

The Tlingit and Haida speak languages belonging to the far-flung stock of Nadene', though the languages are unintelligible to each other. In each language the term by which we have come to know them (Tlingit and Haida) means simply, 'we, the people' as distinguished from all aliens. The Alaska Haida are called Kaigani to distinguish them from their Queen Charlotte relatives, who are referred to as Haida.

The Tlingit and Haida lived in permanent winter villages, in large houses built of cedar. The houses had heavy post and beam frames, with walls and roofs of split cedar planks. Floors were of earth or covered with sand. Platforms were built around three sides of a house, serving as bed, seat and storage space. The fire was built in the center of the floor. Boxes and baskets held the

families' possessions. Dried fish and other food was stored on board shelves suspended from the beams above the fireplace. Each house was large enough to accommodate several families.

Since the Tlingit and Haida depended heavily on fish for food and on canoes for travel, houses were built in a row close to the water and always facing the beach or river bank. In the Haida myths a five-row town was a very large one.

Canoes were hollowed from single logs. The largest cedar trees in the area grew on the Queen Charlotte Islands and the Haida there made canoes that were in demand among the other tribes. Northwest canoes were excellently designed and manufactured craft and in them the Indians roamed nearby waters in search of food and made long journeys to visit and trade, and sometimes raid, their neighbors.

The Northwest Coast Indians were primarily fisherman. The mountainous terrain made land travel difficult and hunting was secondary to fishing as a source of food. Five varieties of salmon ran, and still run, in the streams, providing food from mid-spring until late fall. Halibut, herring and cod were also caught. Seals were hunted and seal oil was an important trade item for the Tlingit. Oil was also made from herring and olachen (candle fish). Oil was regarded as an essential food, served at every meal. Quantities of fish were dried during the summer for winter food. The fish were cut into thin strips and dried over slow fires. Sometimes smoke houses were built. Stranded whales and blackfish were utilized by both tribes, but neither of them hunted the mammals. Sealions were hunted, but more as a sport for wealthy men than as a source of food. Deer, bears and mountain goats were hunted where available and their flesh was relished.

Men were the hunters and fishermen. Women gathered shellfish, berries and roots. Berries were spread on mats to dry and were made into cakes for winter use. Women also dressed fish and game and took charge of the drying of these. Women were the cooks, planning and preparing meals for the family, except at feasts when they were assisted by the young men.

Men were the woodworkers and women were the weavers of mats, baskets and the basket hats, worn principally on ceremonial occasions. Rectangular blankets and poncho-like raincapes were also woven.

Very little clothing was worn by the Tlingit and Haida in pre-contact times. Dressed skin becomes soggy when wet and dries stiff and hard, therefore was not generally suitable in the climate of southeastern Alaska. Fitted clothing was not made by any but a few of the inland Tlingit groups. Skins of deer and bear were wrapped around the body and tied for warmth. Summer clothing consisted mainly of skirts of shredded cedar bark for women and breech clouts for men. Moccasins were worn only for rough land travel or when visiting the dryer interior.

#### Social Organization

Both the Tlingit and Haida traced descent through women and were divided into two exogamous, matrilineal moieties. The moieties of the Haida are called the Eagles and the Ravens. The southern Tlingit have the same divisions, while the northern Tlingit refer to them as Wolf and Raven, since the wolf crest is much more important in the north than the Eagle. The main function of the moieties was regulation of marriage; members of a moiety were regarded as relatives and could not marry, hence married into the opposite moiety. Moieties were divided into clans, based principally on the area in which members lived or from which ancestors had come. They shared myths of common

origin, and crests relating to the myths. The lineage was the functioning unit. A lineage consisted of all who could trace genealogical relationship from a common ancestress. Lineages controlled resource areas such as fishing sites, hunting territories and berry patches and they owned the homes. In addition, lineages owned myths, from which the crests were mainly derived, personal names, ceremonial privileges and paraphernalia, songs and dances. Heads of houses were custodians of lineage property, hence were men with prestige and influence. They were the men who are called chiefs in the literature. Wealthy, influential househeads and their families were the aristocracy. Other families were the commoners. Outside the social system were the slaves, captives from other tribes and their descendants.

In theory the eldest son of the eldest sister of an incumbent househead was his successor. If a househead had no sisters his next younger brother succeeded him or the position could go to his mother's sister's daughter's son and then to the latter's eldest sister's son.

The househead with his wife and children occupied the compartment at the rear of the house. On either side lived the other families and guests. These could include younger brothers with their families, and sisters' sons. Sons of the eldest sister came to live with their uncle when about ten years of age. After marriage they brought their brides to live there. In nearby houses lived distantly related lineage members subordinate to the senior househead. These were the common people. In each village there was at least one househead recognized, above the others, for his noble birth and for his strength of character and leadership ability, whose judgment was respected.

But no househead (chief) had political authority over any but the members of his own lineage. Each village contained houses belonging to different lineages and clans, and to both moieties. The lineage heads formed a sort of town council with the most respected househead as 'town chief'.

The recognition of lineage, clan and moiety affiliations, with attendant duties and responsibilities has not disappeared in the Tlingit and Haida social organization, but they have been greatly modified. The strongest survival is the tabu against marriage between members of the same moiety, which persists in isolated villages with predominantly native populations. The assignment of funeral duties according to the old pattern also occurs in isolated villages where there is no undertaker.

#### Marriage

Young men were ready for marriage when they had demonstrated their ability to make bows and arrows and other equipment and had mastery of the techniques of hunting and fishing. Girls should have acquired knowledge of food preparation and preservation and of weaving. They probably married between the ages of sixteen and twenty.

Marriages were arranged between the lineage relatives of the young couple, though the fathers were certainly also involved. Since the Northwest Coast people were so conscious of class, parents were anxious to enhance the statuses of their children through marriage. Cross cousin marriage was preferred, i.e. a man married his mother's brother's daughter and a woman married her father's sister's son. Though this was seldom a possible arrangement, it remained a cultural ideal.

The initiative for arranging a marriage came from the boy's relatives, who visited the girl's relatives bringing gifts. In polite speeches extolling the virtues of the girl and the status of her lineage, they presented their proposal. No answer was given at that meeting for to do so would show too great anxiety to get the girl married. The proposal was seldom turned down since casual, informal investigation had been carried on previous to the formal visit. Later the girl's relatives returned the call, also bringing gifts. A time was set for the wedding, which was usually held in the house of the prospective groom's mother's brother where he was then living. The lavishness of the wedding depended on the wealth and prominence of the families involved. If very wealthy, a large number of people would be invited and there would be many and expensive gifts. In any case the procedure was the same.

The girl was dressed in a Chilkat blanket if the family owned one, otherwise in a new cedar bark cape or furs. Her face was painted and she wore abalone shell earrings and a hat decorated with a crest of her lineage. The Boy was likewise dressed in family finery. If the girl came from a distant village her canoe was met at the beach by the hosts who sang and danced in her honor. Fine furs or mats might be laid as a path to the house, later to be presented to her lineage relatives. In the house the young couple were seated on a new mat and took no further part in the festivities.

Speeches were made and myths related by relatives, both men and women, of the young couple. Songs were sung and dances performed. While one purpose was entertainment of the guests, it was also an occasion for extolling ancestors and relating the history of the

lineages involved. The ceremony ended with the wedding feast and the distribution of gifts to the guests.

The young bride needed very <sup>little</sup> equipment to set up housekeeping. She brought her personal possessions and the necessary baskets and mats for cooking and housekeeping. Her husband provided her with boxes for cooking and storage, wooden dishes and spoons for serving. She was under the supervision of an older woman, wife of her husband's uncle, who could teach her what she did not already know. Women of a household usually worked in groups for berry picking, gathering materials for weaving, etc. so that she would be under the direction of experienced women as she was when working with her own mother.

Under the above arrangements it is obvious that a man had much more to say about his marriage than a woman. Tales relate that girls sometimes rebelled and refused to be married to the men chosen for them. Such tales end with the elopement of the girl with a handsome stranger only to discover that she had married a duck, a frog or a monster, and of course, she was a very unhappy young woman.

Marriages were arranged with the expectation of being permanent. If a couple quarrelled or the husband mis-treated his wife, the relatives tried to reconcile their differences. If it was impossible, the woman went back to her father's house, or if he were not living, to the house of a brother, and both were free to remarry. Her relatives did not try to dictate her second marriage. If she had children she took them with her.

If a husband died his lineage was under obligation to furnish a replacement. Since polygyny was allowed, the heir to the deceased man's name married the widow. Usually they would be part of the same

household and this meant that the widow and her children remained in the familiar surroundings and the children were cared for with a minimum of disruption in their lives. Also, if a wife died her lineage was expected to replace her. Obviously, this was more difficult since it limited the choice to divorced women and young, unmarried girls. If a girl were chosen it usually meant that she was married to a man much older than herself. Theoretically the initial marriage arrangement between two lineages could be carried on indefinitely by replacing each deceased spouse. This the Indians concede but no one could be found who knew of any replacement beyond the first one.

In the 1940's the writer was in a Tlingit village and interviewed a woman in her seventies who lived with a couple in their fifties. The older woman was introduced as an aunt of the man. Others in the village said that she was actually the widow of the man's uncle, whose name he had taken. He and his wife were caring for her 'out of respect for old Tlingit customs.' Also, while in Juneau a Tlingit girl of about sixteen arrived from one of the villages. She sought and found asylum with relatives there because her parents wanted her to marry a man in his fifties, to replace his deceased wife. In pre-contact times escape would have been impossible.

#### Birth, Childhood

Since Tlingit and Haida needed female children to carry on lineages and male children to head houses and administer properties they had no preference as to sex, but wanted both. Infanticide was not practiced, except for deformed infants.

Twins were thought to bring good luck, whether they were identical or non-identical. They were tenderly cared for since it

was believed that when they grew up they would have special abilities, such as ability to predict weather and salmon runs or to become shamans.

A hut was built for a woman about to give birth. She was attended by a midwife from her husband's lineage and by slaves. The infant was rubbed with warm ashes and oil and placed in a cedar cradleboard, padded with furs and shredded cedar bark, where it would spend much time during the first months of its life. It could be laid on a platform, hung on a wall or carried on its mother's back, warm and safe.

Small children, especially toddlers, were watched carefully, because of the hazards of open fires, water to drown in and dense underbrush in which to become lost. To help keep children close at home there were tales of 'bogey-men', such as a cannibal woman who sought only children, and lamotter men who made anyone they breathed on insane. Children, especially during the winter months, were a part of a large household and were accustomed to people of all ages and to other children to play with.

Children were rarely excluded from feasts and ceremonies but were not allowed to interrupt or be noisy so they soon learned to be quiet and gradually learned the meanings of myths, dances and songs. Their formal training consisted mainly of preparation for guardian spirit quests in their early adolescent years. The children were taken out for early morning baths, regardless of weather, to make them tough and strong. They were directed to fast to make them pure so that the spirits would come. Training for boys was more rigorous than for girls.

All girls, and many boys went through the ordeal of having the ears pierced for the wearing of ornaments. Girls from wealthy families also had their lower lip<sup>s</sup> pierced for the wearing of labrets.

Children of wealthy families often had slaves of about their own age as personal companions and servants. As girls approached adolescence their activities were more and more restricted. They should never be out of the house alone, but always accompanied by a slave or an older woman.

When her first menses appeared a girl was isolated in a mat enclosed corner of the house, or, preferably in a hut outside the dwelling. There her wants were attended to by a slave, her grandmother or mother. She was under severe tabus. She must not touch her hair lest it fall out. She must not drink directly from a cup, but must drink through a bone tube. She must not lie down lest she be weak and she must eat and drink sparingly. She could have only dried fish and meat. To eat fresh fish or meat would mean that the village could not secure them in the future, since the fish or animals would not allow themselves to be caught. There was difference of opinion on how she should spend her time. Some families kept her in complete idleness, while others believed that she should be busy making a basket, weaving a mat or simply pulling the needles off of a spruce bough.

The girl was kept in isolation for at least five days. Wealthy families, who did not need her help, might keep her there as long as a month. At the end of her isolation she was accompanied to the water, fresh or salt, and given a thorough bath. Her soiled clothing was burned or buried in the forest. She was then dressed in

fresh clothing and returned to the house. A wealthy father gave a potlatch, announcing the coming of age of a daughter.

All nubile women were under definite tabus. They must not touch men's hunting and fishing equipment; they must not eat fresh salmon when menstruating and must keep their distance from shamans lest they annoy a shaman's spirits.

Boys were not subjected to as many restrictions as girls. Fathers made small bows and blunt arrows for their tiny sons and instructed them in their use. As a boy grew more proficient and succeeded in bringing in game his efforts were given recognition. When he killed a deer, for example, his father might invite a few friends to dinner, commenting that this was his son's first deer that he wanted to share with them.

Boys continued fasting and bathing in preparation for the day when they would leave the village and seek contact with a guardian spirit in the solitude of the forest, or perhaps in the depths of a cave or rock shelter.

With the burden of providing food for the community on men, it was essential that they use every means to assure an adequate supply. In their pre-contact economy the Tlingit and Haida needed much more than enough food to carry their families through the winter. Food was needed to compensate those who performed services, and those who provided manufactured articles such as canoes, baskets, boxes and spoons. The funeral of a househead required a memorial feast for him, which was especially important to the Tlingit. A new house might be built and the people who helped were not only given gifts but they were also lavishly fed. A wedding could not be celebrated without a feast. A totem pole was carved and the

carver must be fed while he worked and a part of his pay was in food. A new househead was installed, which required food for the feast, and food could be part of the gifts given for witnessing his installation. Then, visitors from other villages, one's own lineage relatives, might drop in and there must be ample food for them. It is not surprising that the Northwest Coast Indians, including the Tlingit and Haida, spent so much time and energy during the productive spring and summer months, accumulating food. Nor is it surprising that boys were given rigorous technical training as well as training in ways of enlisting spirit assistance.

In the world view of the Northwest Coast Indians animals were regarded as much more powerful than men. The animal, and to a certain extent the vegetal world provided a source of help that could be tapped by man and used for his benefit. By enlisting spirit aid man had a much better chance of success than he had without such aid. This was the source of guardian spirit power.

Guardian spirit power could only be acquired by a man if he was pure in mind, clean in body and attuned to the reception of the spiritual power manifestation. So he must fast, be continent, remove himself from the contamination of other humans, and commune with the spirits. Power came principally from animal sources - hunting power from bear, deer or mountain goat spirits - but might also come from supernatural sources such as the wealth woman who bestowed a general ability to be successful and accumulate wealth. The Tlingit believed that landotter power was the most potent that a shaman could receive. It was very dangerous to the recipient, but if he could control it he would be a successful shaman for the rest of his life.

Guardian spirit seeking has long since been given up, but many ideas concerning the nature of the spiritual universe and of animals survive in folk belief.

### Shamanism

The shamans' guardian spirits differed from those of the layman principally because they <sup>gave</sup> <sub>to</sub> shamans the power to cure illnesses, while laymen's powers made them successful providers and wealthy men.

In the view of Northwest Coast Indians serious illness was caused by one of two things. Either the patient had lost his soul or an object, which often looked like a sliver of quartz, had somehow gotten into his body. Souls wandered when people slept, and could be lost. If it were not in the body when the person awakened it could not get back without a shaman's assistance. Malevolent people or Beings also stole souls. An object rarely got into a person's body without assistance from some evil-intentioned individual, hence the idea borders on witchcraft. The object was magically thrown into the body and the person did not know that it was there until he became ill. Occasionally men became ill when they displeased their guardian spirits and the latter withdrew their protection. A special kind of illness might come over a man during the winter, which could be cured by dancing and singing for his guardian spirit. This strengthened his spirit power. There was also the belief that a malevolent person could cause illness and even death by securing bits of hair, nail parings or excreta, over which was said the wish for the fate of the owner. When these deteriorated, it was believed, the owner would become ill.

Ordinary aches, pains, cuts and bruises were treated by women

experienced in the use of plant medicines. They did not require the attention of shamans.

When it was felt that the services of a shaman were needed he was sent for. A Tlingit or Haida shaman wore an apron of painted skin or woven cedar bark, with a fringe of puffin beaks or deer hoofs. Around his neck was a necklace of carved bone tubes which were supposed to be the resting places of his spirit powers. He often wore a crown of bear claws on his head. He always carried a rattle. He was accompanied by helpers with drums, baskets of water and other paraphernalia. The precise equipment of each shaman varied according to the vision that he had. Tlingit shamans did not comb or cut their hair as they believed that the spirits dwelt there. (Some of the 'spirits' were very lively according to early missionaries).

When the shaman arrived the patient was laid on a mat or skins near the center of the house. His relatives and friends sat on the platforms to watch. The shaman began one of his spirit dances while the helpers sang the appropriate song, accompanied by rattle and drums. The shaman worked himself into an ecstatic state, now and again interrupting to assure the audience that he had seen or was in communication with his spirit helpers. Finally he would announce the diagnosis given him by a spirit power. If the soul was lost the spirits were sent to look for it and the shaman periodically reported their progress. When it was returned to him he clasped it in his hands and struggled with it to keep it from escaping. He then pressed it into the top of the patient's head and the session was over. Occasionally he decided that the soul was too weak to transfer immediately to the patient. He would then press it into his own head, and several nights later, transfer

it to the patient.

If a foreign object was the cause of illness, the spirits told the shaman where it was located. Then, by songs and motions of the hands over the patient, the shaman worked the object to a spot where he could remove it, usually the abdomen. When he had it where he wanted it he scooped it up in his hands, and struggled with it, since it also had power. He disposed of it according to his particular spirit instructions. He might drown it in a basket of water, bury it, or simply send it up through the smokehole. A shaman with a flair for drama could make this part of the ceremony very exciting to the spectators.

A shaman was paid in goods and food for his services according to his reputation and also according to the wealth and status of the patient and his (or her) lineage relatives. Several sessions were held if the patient did not show improvement after the first one. If the patient still did not show improvement, a second shaman might be called to treat him.

Shamans were rarely called to treat ailing infants and children as there were women adept at coping with their illnesses. Women rarely became practicing shamans until after menopause and even then their specialties were apt to be children's diseases.

Since shamans were believed to be able to cure illness, it was also believed that they could cause illness, either by magically injecting foreign objects into people or causing them to lose their souls. Probably no shaman was so completely respected and trusted as to be entirely free of the suspicion that he made people ill and killed them, either for his own purposes or as the agent of a vindictive layman.

Shamans were believed to have other abilities besides curing illnesses. They were called upon to aid raiding parties, and sometimes accompanied raiders. They directed the ritual preparation of the members about to embark on a raiding expedition, worked magic designed to weaken the enemy, <sup>and</sup> continued their support for the duration of the raid. If members of the raiding party were killed or no slaves were captured, the failure was laid to the machinations of more potent and powerful enemy shamans.

Some shamans had the reputation of being able to see the salmon and olachen and thus accurately predict when they would arrive. A few had the power to call the fish to any particular stream where they were wanted. Shamans were also believed to be able to locate lost people and lost possessions.

When shamans died their bodies were disposed of in secret places, if possible, and not in the areas set aside as cemetaries. Corpses in their burial boxes might be secreted in rocky overhangs on the beach or deep in the woods. The reasons seem to be two-fold. There was a certain fear of spirits and ghosts of dead shamans, and it was safer to have them far from the village. The other reason was that there was no more potent a charm for a shaman to possess than a bone from the body of a famous deceased shaman, and none more dangerous both to the shaman and to the villagers with whom he lived.

Shamans and their practices were strongly attacked by the early missionaries and governmental authorities. There probably have been no practicing shamans since early in the 20th century. If so, they have done so in strict secrecy.

### Slavery

Slavery has rarely occurred among people who hunt, fish and gather for their food and other supplies. Therefore, the Northwest Coast was unique in that wealthy individuals owned slaves and exploited them for their labor. Slaves were captured in raids on other tribes, were acquired in trade or were the descendants of slaves. Raids were organized for the express purpose of capturing young adolescents as slaves.

Slaves were outside the social organization, not being allowed to own property or participate in any capacity other than that of slaves. They were at the complete mercy of their owners, whose prestige was enhanced by the number of slaves owned. Slaves did the menial and routine work. Men fished, paddled their owners' canoes, prepared timber for house building and canoe making and gathered the inner bark of cedar which their mistresses used in many ways. They were not allowed to participate in the prestigious occupations of mask making, totem pole carving or the carving and painting of canoe prows or boxes. When their masters went mountain goat or sealion hunting they did the paddling, camp cooking, butchering and packing of supplies and meat.

Women slaves cooked, made baskets, dried fish, picked berries, cared for children, and otherwise relieved their mistresses of routine work.

Slaves slept in the coldest part of the house near the door, and ate whatever food was left from the family meal. They were also personal servants to the children of their wealthy owners.

Slaves were economic assets to their owners as well as lending prestige. A househead who was planning a potlatch several years

ahead could purchase slaves, who, in the meantime worked for him, helping him accumulate boxes, wooden dishes, spoons and, finally, food to be used at the potlatch. Women slaves made baskets, mats, and hats to be used at the potlatch or given as gifts. Many mats were needed as seats for the guests and as tablecloths. At the potlatch slaves might be given away as valuable gifts to other wealthy men. They were also given to young couples as wedding presents.

Marriage rites were not performed for slaves nor were funeral rites. If two slaves in a household mated and had children these belonged to the owner of the parents. If the mated pair belonged to different owners, they decided who should have the offspring. The bodies of deceased slaves were thrown on the beach or into the woods without ceremony. Occasionally slaves were slain to accompany deceased owners and to care for them in the world of the dead. There are also accounts of the burying of slaves beneath totem poles or house posts when they were set up.

If a person, captured as a slave, should be rescued by his relatives or succeed in escaping, his troubles were not over. A potlatch must be given to remove the stigma of having been captured, and to return the individual to his former status. Usually his relatives rallied and gave the necessary potlatch; occasionally they were reluctant to do so, or were unable to assemble the necessary food and goods.

It is interesting that the Tlingit and Haida have much the same stereotyped attitude toward slaves as U. S. Southerners have toward Negroes. When asked, what did the slave do, the usual answer is, they were just lazy and shiftless and really did nothing.

Though slavery was abolished in the 1880's, when missions were established in the area, both Tlingit and Haida are still very sensitive about slave ancestry, and are quick to point out those families in which there were former slaves as ancestors. They are also very conscious of which families are descended from 'high class' people and which ones are 'commoners.' Since slaves, and their descendants, could not, and cannot be readily distinguished by appearance (skin color, hair texture, etc.) from the rest of the population, discrimination and segregation have been much more difficult for the Indians than our own situation in relation to Negroes.

#### Religion

Religion of the Northwest Indians is difficult to separate from the social organization, of which it was an integral part. There was no organized religion separate from other aspects of their culture.

They believed that the earth was flat, held up by a Being supporting the disk on a pole. When this being became tired and moved, earthquakes occurred. Oceans surrounded the edges of the world. The sky was a dome above the earth. They did not deify the sun, moon or stars, though in a few tales these are represented as Supernatural Beings.

The land of the dead was in the sky somewhere, reached by a long and tortuous path beset by monsters and privations. The 'ghost people' lived in houses similar to those on earth and the 'ghosts' were aware of their living relatives' activities, and even thoughts. Those who died by violence went to a separate land of the dead. These included warriors, those who were murdered and women who died in childbirth. Deceased persons sometimes developed a great longing

for something they had cherished on earth - a particular kind of food, a special tool or article of clothing or some treasured ornament.

This desire was conveyed to survivors who then sent the desired object to the deceased by placing it in the fire.

The universe was believed to be permeated by spirit powers of the winds, storms, animals and supernatural beings. The universe was also conceived as a reservoir of energy that could be tapped by man for his benefit. This was the basis of the guardian spirit complex. Each individual, after completing ritual preparation, retired to the solitude of the forest to receive a personal manifestation of a spirit's protection. It was believed that no adult could be successful without such help. The individual maintained especially close relationships with the source of his power throughout life. Thus, the core of religious belief was a highly personal experience and relationship with the spiritual world.

For the tribes under discussion power acquired by ancestors could also benefit the living. This was one idea underlying the performance of dramas re-enacting the experiences of ancestors. Masks represented the ancestors, or, more often the miraculous beings from whom they derived power.

There was a belief in Sky Beings, but these had little to do with every day life. Occasionally a prayer was directed to one of these, accompanied by a bit of food thrown into the fire. The request might be for good weather, for luck in hunting or raiding or just for general luck. A Sky Being was believed to have sent Raven down to earth to prepare the world for the coming of man, but was not responsible for man himself. There is a brief tale about Raven who laid down sticks and leaves and magically produced people, but the more widely held idea

idea is that people are metamorphosed animal-people or ghost people, who only gradually attained their present characteristics as distinct from animals and spirit beings.

In the in-between world of ghost people there was no daylight, fresh water, salmon or olachen. They were all hoarded by supernatural beings who kept them for their own benefit. Raven released them and spread fresh water and fish for man's benefit. The world was transformed and made habitable for man, not created.

There was a belief that infants could be reincarnated ancestors, but only if the child resembled the deceased person in some particular way, was this held to be the case. If an infant cried a great deal it was thought that the ancestor was trying to tell the living what he or she wanted. A woman, adept at interpreting the behavior of children, was called in. When she ascertained what the deceased wanted - a certain kind of food, a favorite tool, or an article of clothing - it was sent to the deceased by burning it.

#### The Tsimshian

The Tsimshian living at Metlakatla on Annette Island are descendants of Tsimshian who lived at Old Metlakatla, British Columbia, near Prince Rupert, who in turn had moved there from Fort Simpson, the Hudson's Bay Post on Tsimshian Peninsula. Tsimshian families also live currently in Ketchikan and Seattle.

In 1856 William Duncan, a lay minister of the Church of England, arrived at Fort Simpson to do missionary work among the Indians. Within a few years he decided that progress could only be made by moving his followers from the evil influences of the Fort, mainly the traders who visited there and sold liquor to the natives. There were also many native families who resented interference with their potlatches, secret society initiations and other customs.

Mr. Duncan selected a small island with good harbor and protection from storms. This area was called Metlakatla (salt water channels) by the Indians and had been the site of camping places as they made their yearly trips from the Skeena River to the Nass River for olachen (candle fish) fishing and processing. The first fleet of canoes arrived at the new home site in the summer of 1862. About fifty people were willing to abide by the strict rules which Mr. Duncan laid down for the conduct of village affairs. Others followed later, and a few families returned to the Fort. An energetic man with an indomitable will, he set about planning activities that would make the village economically independent and prosperous. A water-powered sawmill was installed. The men made canoes, and later, boats for trade, they served as packers for trade goods and for the supplies of men headed for the gold fields, they made rope and barrels, smoked fish and raised vegetable gardens. For several years they owned their own schooner with which they supplied their trading post. Mr. Duncan asked for, and got an appointment as magistrate, and thus could deal with those who did not conform to his set of regulations for the village.

As a mission of the Church of England, and partially supported by the missions board, his enterprise came under the jurisdiction of the regional bishop. Many of Mr. Duncan's ideas about running a mission and conducting services were unorthodox, and there were disagreements between him and the bishop. It was finally decided that the mission should be under the direction of an ordained minister who could administer the sacraments and baptize converts, neither of which Mr. Duncan thought necessary.

Mr. Duncan sent scouts to find a site for another new village.

They selected Port Chester on Annette Island as a suitable location. Mr. Duncan went to Washington, D. C. and, through influential friends, received the promise that Congress would allot Annette Island to the migrants.

In the spring of 1887 men were sent to the Island to clear a site and prepare for the move. In the late summer Mr. Duncan and about eight hundred followers arrived to camp on the beach until shelters could be built. Most of them arrived with nothing but their personal possessions since the bishop contended that the dwellings, as well as the church, school and other public buildings belonged to the mission. In 1891 Congress ratified the bill making Annette Island a reservation for the Tsimshian and all other Indians who wished to join them. This included exclusive rights to fish in the waters surrounding the Island and the right to use fish traps. These rights have proven to be very valuable to the Annette Islanders. During the second world war an airfield was built on the opposite side of the island from Metlakatla; otherwise none of the original rights have been abrogated.

In the new village Mr. Duncan installed a sawmill, essential for producing lumber for homes, a cooperative store and a salmon cannery. Water was piped from a nearby mountain lake. He continued his one man rule of community affairs until 1914, when the Bureau of Education (now the Alaska Native Service) took over the school and health services. Mr. Duncan died in 1918, leaving the profits from their various ventures in trust, to be used for improving village facilities.

The Alaska Tsimshian are the most acculturated of the southeast Alaska Indians with the exception of a few Tlingit and Haida families.

who elected to move to the cities and cut ties with their relatives living in isolated villages.

Tsimshian pre-contact culture was very similar to Tlingit and Haida in many respects and different in others. The Tsimshian language belongs to a different stock from that of the other two tribes, and is spoken in three dialects, intelligible to each other.

The Tsimshian were divided into four exogamous, matrilineal phratries, instead of the two divisions of the Tlingit and Haida. On the coast the divisions were known as Eagle, Raven, Blackfish and Wolf; names taken from important crests of the phratries. Like the moieties of the Tlingit and Haida, the principal function of the phratries was to delineate relatives and thus regulate marriage patterns. For example, a member of the Wolf phratry could choose a spouse from any of the other three phratries, but could not marry a member of the Wolf phratry, who was regarded as a relative. Two of the Tsimshian phratries were equated with each of the Tlingit and Haida moieties, so that intermarriage could, and did, take place.

The Tsimshian had the same hierarchy of 'aristocratic' lineages, commoners and slaves as the Tlingit and Haida. Househeads and their families were the wealthy and influential leaders. Househeads were also property custodians and administrators, and staged potlatches to validate their claims and to reinforce acceptance of their asserted rights.

Like the Tlingit and Haida the Coast Tsimshian were mainly exploiters of the sea; salmon providing the staple diet. They also gathered, preserved and stored, seaweed, shellfish, berries, roots and wild crabapples. The latter were cooked and mixed with grease for storage. They dried olachen and made the fish into grease or oil, which was an important trade item, as well as being a part of the

daily diet.

The Tsimshian were unlike the Tlingit and Haida in that they had two secret societies, the Dancers and the Dogeaters. These were related to the individual guardian spirit concept in that members received power from the supernatural tutelary of each society, together with songs, dances and special privileges. Initiation required that the sponsors furnish food and gifts for the other members, who assisted in the initiation. An initiate under the spell of the tutelary of the Dancers was under a compulsion to break things like boxes or canoes and had to be watched. By pre-arrangement he was allowed to destroy something. Then his spirit was appeased and he danced normally. A Boeater initiate felt impelled to bite a dog, and until he was allowed to do so was in a frenzy. Though the songs and dances were supposed to come directly from the spirits, members actually composed them and taught them to initiates. Initiations were held only during the winter, and required the cooperation of many persons to stage the dramas that accompanied. Mr. Duncan strongly objected to the secret society activities and to the potlatches, hence these were forbidden when the group moved to Old Metlakatla.

Tsimshian househeads (chiefs) inherited sacred names associated with exploits of their ancestors, such as traveling to heaven where Sun or another sky being bestowed power. These names were used mainly in the Throwing Dance, in which a chief was called upon to throw his power into spiritually weak children, preparing them for their own spirit contacts later.

In other respects the cultural background of the Tsimshian was closely similar to that of the Tlingit and Haida.

### Alaska Native Brotherhood

Missionaries in the Indian towns of southeast Alaska organized men's and women's groups for various purposes, such as improvement of the village, visiting the sick and raising money for the mission. The Alaska Native Brotherhood is the only organization that cuts across village boundaries and includes all natives. The A.N.B was organized by ten<sup>men</sup> from a number of native villages in southeast Alaska in 1912. Modeled after church sponsored organizations, its first constitution states:

"The purposes of this organization shall be to assist and encourage the Native in his advancement from his native state to his place among the cultivated races of the world, to oppose, discourage, and overcome the narrow injustice of race prejudice, and to aid in the development of the Territory of Alaska, and in making it worthy of a place among the States of North America." (Drucker, p. 165)

Its policy was focused on three main goals: 1. recognition of citizenship rights of Indians (realized in the citizenship act of June 2, 1924); 2. education for Indians; and 3. abolition of aboriginal customs, especially those censured by the whites. Membership was open to English speaking natives of the Territory. This, in effect, excluded all but the most acculturated men. Few older Indians then spoke English well enough to participate in meetings. All meetings were to be conducted in English.

The revised constitution of 1948 states that full membership shall be open to the descendants of the aboriginal races of North America. The statement of policy includes the desire to preserve the history, lore, art, and virtues of the natives. As a matter of fact, the A.N.B. has consistently inveighed against ancient customs, particularly the potlatch.

The idea of local camps spread slowly, but by the early 1920's they were established in all Indian communities except Metlakatla. Many of the local organizations have had their ups and downs, some of them even being inactive for a year or more at a time. By the late 1920's Alaska Native Sisterhood camps had also been established in many villages. Some of these absorbed existing clubs.

The A.N.B. and A.N.S. hold annual conventions, presided over by the Grand Camp President and other officers. Between conventions the Executive Council is the functioning body. It includes the Grand Camp officers and the presidents of the local men's and women's organizations.

Early every town has an A.N.B.-A.N.S. hall in which meetings are held and which serve as a social and recreational center for the community. Many of them are large enough to provide for basketball, the favorite sport of the Indians.

The organization has attempted the resolution of a number of very complex problems. One of these is Indian rights to land and water resource areas. Treaties were never made with Alaska natives, hence there are no reservations in southeast Alaska, with the exception of Annette Island. Indians themselves have been divided on this question. Some, like the Haida residing at Hydaburg, wished a reservation to be set aside for their exclusive use. Such a request was filed but denied on technical grounds. Others prefer to be compensated for land and other resources lost. An act of 1935 gave both the Tlingit and Haida the right to present claims to the United States Court of Claims. After a great deal of work and discussion such a claim was filed. It too was denied on technical grounds. Extensive hearings on Tlingit and Haida claims were

in 1945

held, both in Alaska and in Seattle. To date nothing has developed from these efforts.

Another area of activity entered into by the A.N.B. was that of acting as bargaining agent for Indians working in commercial fishing. At the annual convention of 1945 it was decided that the A.N.B. would cease acting as bargaining agent for those employed in the fishing industry. The decision was made partly ~~from~~ because of pressure from the outside, challenging the organization's right to so act, and partly from the inside. There was a strong faction that believed that this was not a proper function for A.N.B. to perform for its members.

A more immediate goal was achieved. Indians are no longer segregated in theaters or restaurants, nor are they excluded from the hotels of the main towns. This does not eliminate the more subtle forms of discrimination, which certainly occur.

The Tsimshian at Metlakatla have never been interested in the A.N.B. and have never organized a camp. The main reason is that they have a reservation with exclusive rights to fish in the surrounding waters and have their own cannery and small sawmill. In normal fishing seasons these provide the people with adequate income, and they are in better financial condition than any of the other villages. The airfield also provides some employment.

#### Settlement Patterns and Problems

The 1950 census reported a population of 825 for Metlakatla. (All census figures are from Rogers, appendix B) Compared with earlier figures this represents a stable, or slightly increasing population.

Population figures for Tlingit towns in 1950 were; Yakutat, 30;

Klukwan, 131; Hoonah, 426; Angoon, 300; Kake, 437; Klawock, 257 and Saxman, 150. A 1950 census of Sitka lists 627 Indians. Only two Kalgani Haida villages were occupied in the 1958 count; Kasaaan, 82 and Hydaburg, 430. The total Indian population for southeast Alaska was 7,294, but this figure does not include Indians living in the predominantly white towns of Ketchikan and Juneau.

Indians living in mainly white towns tend to be clustered. In Ketchikan they live along the creek. The adjoining settlement of Saxman was once a flourishing Indian community with its own church and school. In Juneau 'Indian town' is on the mud flats directly below the governor's home. In Wrangell Indian homes cluster at the end of town near Shake's Island. When the Hudson's Bay Fort was built, Indians from a number of villages migrated and settled near the Fort, where their descendants tend to continue to live. The same situation pertains to Sitka, which has its section which the Russians called the 'rancheria' and is still called 'Indian town.' There the Russian American Company established a fort and trading post and the Indians came from outlying villages to settle outside the palisades.

The Klukwan are in danger of losing their village site to a road building plan. Many families from Klukwan and smaller villages were attracted to Haines when a mission was established there in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Angoon is situated on a point of land with a narrow, whirlpool filled channel on one side and a shallow, unprotected bay on the other. Plans have been formulated to move the village across Chatham Sound to a protected harbor and also near the cannery where most of them work during the summer. So far the move has not been made.

Kake has a salmon cannery very close to the village and a breakwater for the protection of moored gasboats. The town is incorporated and attempted to run its own school and cannery, without conspicuous success. Klawock has a cannery in town and is connected with the neighboring town of Craig by a road. Both towns are principally dependent on commercial fishing for income. A cannery was built at Kasaan in 1902 and operated until 1953. When it was built it attracted people from the older village of the same name. With the closing of the cannery many families moved to Craig and Ketchikan and the town will undoubtedly be deserted within a few more years. A salmon cannery in the town of Hydaburg is its main source of income. The diminishing supply of fish will affect the town's population.

It is clear that one of the problems that Indians share with non-Indians of southeast Alaska is the progressive deterioration of commercial fishing, particularly salmon fishing and processing. The problem is more severe for the Indian than for the non-Indian, since Indians depend heavily on fishing for their income and do not have the opportunity of turning to other kinds of work to supplement income.

A study of family income was made for the Alaska Native Service in 1948 in the towns of Klawock, Hydaburg, Kake, Hoonah, Sitka and Metlakatla. The average money income by sources was distributed as follows: from fishing 35.5 percent; salmon canning 19.0 percent; trapping 7.4 percent; other wages (logging, clerical, etc.) 25.2 percent; other income (primarily welfare) 12.0 percent. (Rogers, pp. 150-151) The same survey indicated that income from all sources (including relief) averaged \$2,251.75 per family, or \$416.99 per person. (Rogers, p. 152) A survey of the Sitka native village for the year 1938-39 showed that in 79 houses, with a total of

514 individuals, income (including relief) totaled \$66,415 or \$340.70 per house and \$129.19 per person. Since living costs have gone up and incomes have not kept pace, the above figures are not realistic for 1963. Some Indian families hunt and fish for themselves, canning the meat for winter use. The drying of salmon has been discontinued. I know of no survey of the contribution of such activities to family food supplies.

It seems obvious that, to survive, Indians will have to learn new skills in order to participate in the changing economic situation. There are very few Indians in professional or clerical positions. Even the few fully trained and competent individuals have prejudices to overcome on the part of employers.

Seattle, Washington

1963

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1890	Sitka, Sitka	137
	Sitka, Ahngat Ch (Ind.)	35
1891	Sitka, Ahngat	318/350/-/-/154
	Sitka, Brdg.	2/-
1892	Sitka, Native	358/240/-/-/68
	Sitka, Brdg.	15/28/426/-/-
1893	Sitka, Ahngat	241/245/-/-/107
	Sitka, White	15/25/200/-/-/60
1894	Sitka, Ahngat	164/174/-/-/75
	Sitka, White	15
1895	Sitka, Ahngat	264
	Sitka, White	15
1896	" Ahngat White	364
		15
1897	Thlinget	389/154/77/107
	White	10/29/77/12
1898	Thlinget	387/153/12/-/80
	White	10/32/13/-
1899	Thlinget	325/202/51/-/203
	White	10/30/110/-/39
1900	Thlinget	849/151/52/-/170
	White	24/32/187/-/69

1915 Thlinget - still there  
White changed name to First

1933 First - dissolved

In 1900 and thereafter there are two churches listed under Sitka.

Thlinget, the larger, and White, very small.

In 1915 the White Church was renamed First.

In 1933 the First Church was dissolved. The statistics listed on sheet are for the Indian Church.

## INDIAN CHURCHES IN ALASKA PRESBYTERY

## SUMMARY CHURCH DATA SHEET

Page 2

Date on

## SUNDAY CHURCH SCHOOL

for Presbyterian churches in

Church

Native village	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1955	1959	1960	1961
ANGOON, Angoon	-	-	-	-	-	128	43	50	78	51	45	27
HOONAH	-	-	-	-	-	200	82	x65	76	69	66	62
HYDAPURG	-	250	-	-	115	73	92	76	78	76	86	80
KAKE, Memorial	-	-	-	-	115	76	x38	x72	x65	100	97	49
KASAAN	-	-	-	50	-	34	-	-	25	Dissolved 1958		
KLAUOCK	-	-	-	-	-	73	51	48	104	38	45	35
KLUKWAN	-	-	-	104	100	51	-	18	36	43	33	19
METLAKATLA	-	-	-	-	-	145	72	139	112	82	77	81
SITKA, Indian/	-	-	151	140	185	296	295	286	172	275	282	285
YAKUTAT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	49	64	59	x59
Originally native, now/ HAINES biracial	-	-	-	136	80	165	120	124	126	137	103	124
JUNEAU, Memorial	-	-	78	-	60	52	69	55	116	103	94	81
KETCHIKAN	-	-	-	118	-	33	67	70	106	141	168	147
PETERSBURG, First	-	-	-	-	-	31	x43	17	78	95	x95	63
WRANGELL, First	-	120	75	-	-	-	81	x76	115	79	85	78
Biracial CHAIG	-	-	-	-	-	46	x63	37	54	50	56	68

Native village	-	250	-	154	330	780	378	468	574	759	449	353
Bracial	-	120	304	394	325	623	738	665	816	944	972	925
Total	-	370	304	548	655	1403	1116	1133	1390	1403	1391	1258

## INDIAN CHURCHES IN ALASKA PRESBYTERY

## SUMMARY CHURCH DATA SHEET

Page 3

Date on

## CURRENT RECEIPTS

for Presbyterian churches in

Native village	Church DOLLARS											
	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1955	1959	1960	1961
ANGOON, Angoon	-	-	-	-	-	62	252	212	1493	468	327	150
HOOAH	-	-	61	61	177	83	135	-	812	-	1485	1893
HYDABUEG	-	-	-	-	575	166	671	1351	3067	2719	1995	2364
KAKE, Memorial	-	-	-	-	215	99	-	-	-	973	727	717
KASAAN	-	-	-	30	18	30	-	-	-	Dissolved 1958		
KLAWOCK	-	-	-	-	-	130	25	751	1073	575	715	270
KLUKWAN	-	-	-	48	60	44	-	630	699	707	431	545
METLAKAHLA	-	-	-	-	-	550	285	2801	4728	6295	6014	7549
SIPKA, Indian	-	-	52	625	541	386	1429	5388	12025	17333	15023	18680
YAKUTAT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1197	1000	1100	-
Originally native, now/ HAINES biracial	-	-	163	75	90	578	420	1585	4364	7486	6295	5371
JUNEAU, Memorial	-	-	107	113	360	119	-	2658	6456	7972	8417	6960
KETCHIKAN	-	-	-	65	175	310	614	2199	4769	7067	6599	9298
PETERSBURG, First	-	-	-	-	-	191	-	425	2525	3810	-	3639
WRANGELL, First Biracial	-	60	140	52	-	70	576	-	8570	6596	7057	7149
CRAIG	-	-	-	-	-	40	7	1000	1969	1851	1962	1923

S.E. Native village

S.E. Biracial

Total

- - 61 139 1045 1164 1368 5745 1,572 11,737 11,694 19,458 58,330  
 - 60 462 930 1166 1694 5046 13255 41,873 53,115 46,453 53,120 23,378  
 - 60 523 1069 2211 2858 4414 19,000 53,747 64,852 58,147 66,508 27,377

## INDIAN CHURCHES IN ALASKA PRESBYTERY

SPECIAL RECEIPTS

SUMMARY CHURCH DATA SHEET

Date on

for Presbyterian churches in

Page

Church												
Native village	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1955	1959	1960	1961
ANGOON, Angoon	-	-	-	-	-	14	-	500	-	246	192	-
HOOНАH	-	-	-	-	-	32	126	-	-	-	-	-
HYDABURG	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7079	206	-	298	213
NAKE, Memorial	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40	-	-
KASAAN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Dissolved 1958		
KLAWOCK	-	-	-	-	-	105	-	138	98	548	-	384
KLUKWAN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	178	-	102	-
METLAKATLA	-	-	-	-	-	-	91	1658	830	-	-	347
SITKA, Indian	-	-	-	-	-	-	615	1005	29633	9114	7943	4067
YAKUTAT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	596	365	225	-
Originally native, now/ HAINES biracial	-	-	-	-	-	142	-	1179	32	874	544	131
JUNEAU, Memorial	-	-	-	-	-	19	-	200	500	-	389	-
KSTCHIKAN	-	-	-	-	-	-	75	3069	635	322	1511	2061
PETERSBURG, First	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	132	944	459	-	-
WRANGELL, First Biracial	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	-	1188	250	-	450
CRAIG	-	-	-	-	-	12	26	-	861	-	-	325
S.T. Native village	-	-	-	-	-	151	217	9375	1312	834	592	944
S.T. Bi-racial	-	-	-	-	-	173	763	5585	34389	11384	19612	7034
TOTAL	-	-	-	-	-	324	980	14960	35701	12218	11204	7978

## INDIAN CHURCHES IN ALASKA PRESBYTERIAN

Date on **BENEVOLENCES**

## SUMMARY CHURCH DATA SHEET

Date on

for Presbyterian churches in

Page 5

Native Village	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1955	1959	1960	1961
ANGOON, Angoon	-	-	-	-	-	9	90	93	144	55	67	-
HOONAH	-	-	46	70	59	32	98	-	16	-	147	178
HYDABURG	-	-	-	-	72	32	99	263	95	95	220	416
KAKE, Memorial	-	-	-	-	114	9	-	-	-	190	55	25
KASAAN	-	-	-	3	37	5	-	-	-	Dissolved 1958		
KLAWOCK	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	175	136	71	46	38
KLUKWAN	-	-	-	149	47	12	-	63	102	183	165	193
METLAKATLA	-	-	-	-	-	185	147	-	432	390	684	722
SITKA, Indian	-	-	170	97	229	157	716	1752	2646	7348	9350	6331
YAKUTAT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	390	105	145	-
Originally native, now/ HAINES biracial	-	-	5	26	144	182	172	688	1930	2595	2265	1761
JUNEAU, Memorial	-	-	31	11	54	29	-	200	840	800	1158	975
KETCHIKAN	-	-	-	129	25	109	46	772	671	815	1001	1680
PETERSBURG, First	-	-	-	-	-	37	-	137	422	862	-	639
WRANGELL, First Biracial	2	40	22	15	6	30	154	-	1272	1011	1122	1329
CRAIG	-	-	-	-	-	28	-	146	485	344	353	383
S.T. Native village	-	-	46	222	329	284	469	594	925	984	1384	1572
S.T. Bi-racial	2	40	228	278	458	572	1088	3695	8656	13,880	15,394	13,098
TOTAL	2	40	274	500	787	856	1657	4289	9581	14,564	16,778	14,670

## INDIAN CHURCHES IN ALASKA PRESBYTERY

## SUMMARY CHURCH DATA SHEET

Date on TOTAL COMMUNICANTS

for Presbyterian churches in

Page 1

Native village	Church											
	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1955	1959	1960	1961
ANGOON, Angoon	-	-	-	-	-	78	88	63	49	65	63	45
HOONAH	-	-	104	39	84	200	111	x104	96	x104	112	111
HYDABURG	-	56	98	-	115	128	127	187	123	118	121	134
KAKE, Memorial	-	-	-	-	79	114	x81	x78	x126	134	149	132
KASAAN	-	-	-	59	44	46	x32	-	9	Dissolved 1958		
KLAWOCK	-	-	-	-	-	183	119	84	94	57	50	52
KLUKWAN	-	-	-	55	66	61	47	50	58	57	44	43
METLAKATLA	-	-	-	-	-	186	203	168	150	129	131	127
Bi-racial SITKA, Indian/	-	300	349	214	248	144	272	336	335	352	294	333
YAKUTAT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46	58	74	x74
Originally native, now/ HAINES biracial	-	-	52	106	40	92	74	85	111	144	114	111
JUNEAU, Memorial	-	-	124	137	75	118	x79	111	203	165	165	165
KETCHIKAN	-	-	-	71	46	63	86	73	110	140	160	178
PETERSBURG, First	-	-	-	-	-	54	x35	31	47	59	x59	70
WRANGELL, First	32	52	84	67	x59	46	73	x122	121	87	92	88
Bi-racial CRAIG	-	-	-	-	-	53	x29	59	80	45	50	53

S.R. Native - village - - 56 202 153 388 996 808 734 705 664 670 644  
 S.R. Bi Racial - 32 352 609 595 468 570 648 817 1053 1050 1008 1072 927  
 TOTAL Total - 32 408 811 748 856 1566 1456 1551 1758 1714 1678 1716

